

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

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INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 0165

EXDIS

LONDON FOR EAGLETON

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, TU, CY, GR

SUBJ: VISIT OF EUR/SE DIRECTOR EAGLETON: CONVERSATIONS WITH DENKTASH,
CLERIDES AND UNSYG SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE PEREZ DE CUELLAR

REF: NICOSIA 0132

1. SUMMARY: FROM CONVERSATIONS WITH SOME KEY PLAYERS DURING CYPRUS VISIT OF EUR/SE DIRECTOR EAGLETON JANUARY 15-17, IT IS APPARENT THAT BRUSSELS UNDERSTANDING ARE BEGINNING TO RAVEL AT THE EDGES AS THEY ARE BEING VARIOUSLY INTERPRETED (OR PERHAPS EXPLOITED) BY PARTIES APPROACHING VIENNA RESUMPTION OF INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS. INDEED, PERCEPTIONS OF WHAT IS SUPPOSED TO HAPPEN AT VIENNA DIFFER SO SHARPLY THAT WALDHEIM'S PROPOSAL FOR RESUMPTION, WHICH IS ON VERGE OF BEING WRAPPED UP, COULD BE IN DANGER. THIS IS WITHOUT REGARD TO OUTCOME OF CLERIDES' RESIGNATION ISSUE WHICH (AS OF 1000 HOURS LOCAL JANUARY 17) IS NOT YET RESOLVED. END SUMMARY.

2. IN DAY AND HALF CYPRUS VISIT, EUR/SE DIRECTOR EAGLETON PUT IN A BUSY TIME. AFTER ARRIVAL JANUARY 15 AND
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DISCUSSIONS WITH EMBASSY, HE JOINED AMBASSADOR AT A DINNER

WHICH INCLUDED AMONG OTHERS FONMIN CHRISTOPHIDES, UNSYG SPEC REP PEREZ DE CUELLAR AND GREEK AMBASSADOR DOUNTAS. ON JANUARY 16, HE TOURED TURKISH ZONE TO ITS WESTERMOST LIMIT. IN EVENING, WITH AMBASSADOR, HE HAD CONVERSATIONS SUCCESSIVELY WITH DENKTASH, PEREZ DE CUELLAR AND CLERIDES. BY GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT WITH PARTIES CONCERNED, WHICH HAS HELD SO FAR, VISIT WAS UNPUBLICIZED. PRINCIPAL ELEMENTS OF CONVERSATIONS AS FOLLOWS:

3. DENKTASH. AT DENKTASH'S REQUEST, AMBASSADOR COMMENTED ON BACKGROUND AND CURRENT STATUS OF CLERIDES' RESIGNATION. DENKTASH PRETENDED TO SEE THIS AS AN ORCHESTRATED GREEK PLOY TO ATTRACT INTERNATIONAL ATTENTION AND SYMPATHY FOR GREEK POSITIONS PRIOR TO RESUMPTION, BUT HE DID NOT TRY VERY HARD.

4. ON APPROACH TO RESUMPTION OF TALKS, DENKTASH SAID HE WAS GENUINELY CONCERNED THAT GREEK SIDE CONTINUED TO EVADE A PUBLIC FORESWEARING OF ENOSIS. WITHOUT THIS, HE DID NOT FEEL HE COULD SAFELY RESUME NEGOTIATION AND SERIOUSLY APPROACH A SOLUTION UNLESS TURKEY ASSURED HIM ON THE QUESTION OF "NATIONAL GUARANTEE". HE EXPLAINED THIS TO MEAN A STATEMENT TO HIM BY GOT THAT IN A FINAL SOLUTION GREECE AND TURKEY WOULD BOTH MAINTAIN SOME TROOPS ON THE ISLAND ("THE SIZE OF THE FORMER TREATY CONTINGENTS OR MAYBE MORE") AND TURKEY WOULD PROMISE TO INTERVENE MILITARILY AS NECESSARY TO PREVENT ENOSIS AND PROTECT TURKISH CYPRIOTS AND CYPRUS' INDEPENDENCE. IN HIS EXCHANGES WITH ANKARA IN CONNECTION WITH AGREEING TO WALDHEIM'S PROPOSAL ON RESUMPTION, HE HAD NOW RECEIVED THE REQUISITE GOT ASSURANCE BUT ONLY SECONDHAND (BY IMPLICATION A STATEMENT OF GOT POSITION CONVEYED BY TURKISH AMBASSADOR INHAN). DENKTASH SAID THIS WAS NOT GOOD ENOUGH. BEFORE GIVING FINAL REPLY TO PEREZ DE CUELLAR FOR WALDHEIM, HE WANTED MESSAGE REPEATED IN THE FORM OF A DIRECT COMMUNICATION TO HIM. HE EXPECTED TO RECEIVE THIS OVER THE WEEKEND. THEREFORE, HE WAS NOW PREPARED TO SCHEDULE A MEETING WITH PEREZ DE CUELLAR FOR JANUARY 19 AT WHICH TIME HE WOULD CONVEY UNQUALIFIED APPROVAL OF SYG'S PROPOSAL. HE DID NOT KNOW WHETHER THERE HAD BEEN FURTHER EXCHANGES BETWEEN ANKARA AND ATHENS UNDERLYING GOT'S CONFIDENTIAL

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APPROVAL FOR HIM TO PROCEED.

5. DENKTASH DEPICTED TURKISH VIEW OF VIENNA RESUMPTION WHICH PARALLELED AT PROVIDED EARLIER BY TURKISH AMBASSADOR INHAN (REFTEL). SYG'S ROLE WOULD BE LIMITED TO RESTARTING A NEGOTIATION AND HELPING PARTIES AGREE ON (A) FORMATION OF SUBCOMMITTEES FOR TERRITORY AND CENTRAL GOVERNMENT POWERS, (B) A NICOSIA VENUE AND (C) A DATE TO BEGIN WORK. DENKTASH

SAID THAT IN VIENNA HE WAS PREPARED TO RECEIVE BUT NOT TO DISCUSS A POSSIBLE GREEK PROPOSAL ON TERRITORY. THERE COULD BE NO SUCH DISCUSSION EXCEPT IN NICOSIA WITH MAINLAND PARTIIPATION. HE HIMSELF WOULD CARRY NOTHING TO VIENNA. HE FORESAW VIENNA LASTING TWO OR AT MOST THREE DAYS. ANYTHING MORE WOULD BE A WASTE OF WALDHEIM'S TIME. DENKTASH COMMENTED THAT HE COULD NOT MEET BEFORE FEBRUARY 17. HE WAS COMMITTED TO POLITICAL CAMPAIGNING DURING FIRST TWO WEEKS OF FEB.

6. EAGLETON DISCUSSED IN DETAIL THE CODEL MORGAN VISITS TO ANKARA AND ATHENS AND ARGUED FORCEFULLY THE NEED FOR SUFFICIENT TURKISH FLEXIBILITY TO DEMONSTRATE TO CONGRESS AND TURKEY'S FRIENDS INTERNATIONALLY THAT PROGRESS WAS BEING MADE. DENKTASH REPLIED US REQUIREMENTS RUN COUNTER TO CYPRUS' REALITIES. A PATCHWORK RESOLUTION OF CYPRUS PROBLEM WOULD TAKE A LONG TIME, TWO OR THREE YEARS AT LEAST.

7. PEREZ DE CUELLAR. AMBASSADOR AND EAGLETON REVIEWED FOR DE CUELLAR FOREGOING CONVERSATION WITH DENKTASH. DE CUELLAR AGREED THAT TURKISH FORMULA FOR VIENNA MIGHT BE UNACCEPTABLE TO THE GREEK SIDE, AS IT MIGHT ALSO BE TO WALDHEIM. HE HAD DELIVERED TO CLERIDES EARLIER IN THE DAY A PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM WALDHEIM EXPRESSING CONFIDENCE IN CLERIDES AND THE HOPE THAT HE WOULD CONTINUE AS NEGOTIATOR. CLERIDES

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HAD RECEIVED MESSAGE WITH APPRECIATION BUT HAD BEEN NON-COMMITTAL REGARDING HIS INTENTIONS. DE CUELLAR SAID HE WAS SCHEDULED TO SEE MAKARIOS JANUARY 17, ON INSTRUCTIONS, TO INFORM HIM OF WALDHEIM'S MESSAGE TO CLERIDES. THIS WOULD GIVE HIM A FURTHER READING ON SITUATION.

8. CLERIDES: (BY TELEPHONE). EAGLETON EXPLAINED THAT HE HAD NOT WANTED TO EMBARRASS CLERIDES BY A CALL IN PERSON AT THIS TROUBLED TIME FOR LATTER. USG OBVIOUSLY HOPED CLERIDES WOULD STAY ON AND HAD MADE THIS KNOWN APPROPRIATELY. EAGLETON INFORMED CLERIDES OF CODEL MORGAN'S CLEAR IMPRESSION THAT TURKEY WAS READY TO TALK SERIOUSLY.

9. AS WITH DE CUELLAR, CLERIDES REFUSED TO SIGNAL HIS INTENTIONS ON RESIGNING OTHER THAN TO SAY THAT IF HE HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE ON JANUARY 17, AS CURRENTLY SCHEDULED, HE WOULD HAVE TO REAFFIRM RESIGNATION. CLERIDES SAID HE WAS WELL AWARE OF WHAT WAS GOING ON BETWEEN DENKTASH AND ANKARA IN AN EFFORT CONFIDENTIAL

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TO CIRCUMSCRIBE VIENNA AND DEVOLVE QUESTIONS OF SUBSTANCE TO SUB-COMMITTEES IN NICOSIA. HE DID NOT CONSIDER THIS CONSISTENT WITH BRUSSELS UNDERSTANDINGS AS CONVEYED BY GOG, WHICH INTER ALIA ANTICIPATED MINIMUM OF TEN TO TWELVE DAYS INTENSE PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT OF WALDHEIM. IN HIS VIEW, SUBCOMMITTEES WOULD INVOLVE TOO MANY PEOPLE, TOO MUCH PUBLICITY, AND TOO MUCH LOOKING OVER THE SHOULDER AT THE POLITICAL OPPOSITIONS IN CYPRUS. CLERIDES WOULD NOT SAY WHAT GREEK RESPONSE TO TURKISH POSITION WOULD BE BUT HE SAID GREEKS WANTED VIENNA TO PRODUCE SOME PRINCIPLES: SOME IDEA OF WHAT A TERRITORIAL SETTLEMENT WOULD LOOK LIKE.

10. EAGLETON ACKNOWLEDGED THAT BRUSSELS UNDERSTANDINGS MIGHT HAVE BEEN SUFFICIENTLY GENERAL AS TO ALLOW SOME AMBIGUITY AND DIFFERENCES OF INTERPRETATION ON HOW TALKS WERE TO BE CONDUCTED. HE URGED THE IMPORTANCE OF GETTING STARTED AND SHOWING FLEXIBILITY.

11. COMMENT: AS RECENT DEVELOPMENTS HAVE SHOWN, THERE IS A SHARP DIFFERENCE IN THE GREEK AND TURKISH PERCEPTIONS

OF VIENNA. BEFORE WE CAN KNOW WHERE THIS WILL LEAD,
THERE MUST BE A RESOLUTION OF PROBLEM OF CLERIDES' RESIGNATION.
IT SEEMS TO EAGLETON AND EMBASSY, HOWEVER, THAT THERE IS
A DANGER THAT GREEKS MAY NOT ACCEPT THE RESTRICTIVE TURKISH
FORMULA FOR VIENNA, IN WHICH CASE THERE WOULD BE ADDITIONAL OBSTACLE
TO RESUMPTION. END COMMENT.

12. AFTER EAGLETON'S DEPARTURE MORNING JANUARY 17, AMBASSADOR
WAS IN TOUCH WITH FONMIN CHRISTOPHIDES TO THANK HIM FOR
ASSISTANCE AND INQUIRE ABOUT STATUS OF CLERIDES' RESIGNATION.
CHRISTOPHIDES SAID OUTCOME STILL UNCLEAR BUT THERE
WERE TWO HOPEFUL STRAWS IN THE WIND. ADDING TO
EARLIER PLEAS BY HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, KARAMANLIS,
WALDHEIM AND OTHERS, CLERIDES' OWN UNIFIED PARTY, AFTER
MEETING WITH HIM, HAD FORMALLY APPEALED TO HIM
TO STAY. ALSO, CLERIDES HAD CANCELLED PRESS CONFERENCE
SCHEDULED FOR TODAY.
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